

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 02598 01 OF 02 091931Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-12
IO-13 NEA-10 AF-10 /106 W
-----038371 092030Z /23

P 091916Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRORITY 3769
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
USMISSION USNATO
SECDEF WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MADRID 02598

E.O. 11652: XGDS-L
TAGS: PEPR, SP, US; OEXC, SP
SUBJECT: VISIT OF SPANISH OPPOSITION SOCIALIST LEADERS
TO WASHINGTON ON DEFENSE QUESTIONS

REF: MADRID 2037; 3542; 1024; 0359

1. SUMMARY. DURING A DEFENSE TOUR D'HORIZON WITH
SOCIALIST LEADER GRANTEES MUGICA AND SOLANA, THEY
REITERATED THEIR OPPOSITION TO NATO MEMBERSHIP, WHILE
SUPPORTING THE CONTINUATION OF SPANISH PARTICIPATION
(LARGELY UNDEFINED) IN THE DEFENSE OF THE WEST. SOLANA
BACKED AWAY SOMEWHAT FROM ASSERTIONS WHICH APPEARED IN
THE LOCAL PRESS OF US "AMBIGUITY" CONCERNING THE
SPANISHNESS OF THE CANARIES AND ALLEGATIONS OF US
ATTEMPTS TO USE THE ISLANDS AS A LEVER TO PRY SPAIN
INTO NATO. BUT HE INDICATED THAT HE INTENDED TO RAISE
THE CANARIES ISSUE DURING HIS WASHINGTON CONVERSATION.
IT IS CLEAR FROM THIS AND OUR OTHER CONVERSATIONS WITH
SOLANA THAT HE DESIRES TO DISCUSS A BROAD SPECTRUM OF
ISSUES WITH HIS WASHINGTON INTERLOCUTORS, RANGING FROM
SPAIN'S GENERAL DEFENSE ORIENTATION AND RELATIONS WITH
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 02598 01 OF 02 091931Z

THE US, OTHER NATO MEMBERS, AND THE ALLIANCE ITSELF,
THROUGH QUESTIONS OF MILITARY MISSION AND ORGANIZATION,
TO LOGISTICS ARRANGEMENTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A
SPANISH DEFENSE INDUSTRY. IN ADDITION TO THOSE AREAS
IN WHICH WE ALREADY HAVE RECOMMENDED BRIEFINGS AND
MEETINGS, A BRIEFING FOR MUGICA AND SOLANA ON THE
SITUATION IN THE MAGHREB, WITH ITS LINKAGES TO THE

GENERAL MIDDLE EAST CONUNDRUM AND STRIFE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE HORN OF AFRICA WOULD BE EXTREMELY USEFUL. END SUMMARY.

2. IN THE ADVENT OF THEIR US TRIP, CONGRESS DEFENSE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ENRIQUE MUGICA AND FELLOW SOCIALIST (PSOE) AND PARTY DEFENSE EXPERT LUIS SOLANA LUNCHEONED WITH ME MARCH 2 FOR A TOUR D'HORIZON ON DEFENSE QUESTIONS. OUR LUNCHEON CONVERSATION CAME IN THE WAKE OF SOLANA'S ASSERTIONS TO THE PRESS THAT THE US MAINTAINED AN "AMBIGUOUS" STANCE CONCERNING THE SPANISHNESS OF THE CANARY ISLANDS AND THAT WE WERE SOMEHOW TRYING TO USE THE CANARIES AS A LEVER TO PUSH SPAIN INTO JOINING NATO. THE MAJOR POINTS COVERED IN OUR CONVERSATION, DURING WHICH SOLANA DID ALMOST ALL OF THE TALKING FOR THE TWO, ARE SUMMARIZED BELOW ESPECIALLY FOR THOSE WHO WILL BE TALKING WITH MUGICA AND SOLANA.

3. SOLANA REHEARSED THE POSITIONS HE HAD TAKEN DURING PREVIOUS MEETINGS WITH EMBASSY OFFICERS, TO THE EFFECT THAT THE PSOE DESIRED TO PLAY A ROLE IN WESTERN DEFENSE, BUT OPPOSED SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO. INSTEAD, THE SPANISH SOCIALISTS ENVISIONED BILATERAL DEFENSE RELATIONSHIPS WITH VARIOUS EUROPEAN NATO MEMBER COUNTRIES AND AN EVENTUAL UNIFIED EUROPEAN ARMED FORCE (SEE MADRID 1402; 0616; AND 77-9580). HE ALSO POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 02598 01 OF 02 091931Z

HE HAD THAT VERY DAY MADE A HIGHLY POSITIVE GESTURE TOWARD THE US IN PUTTING THE PSOE PUBLICLY ON RECORD FOR THE FIRST TIME IN DEFINING THE SOVIET UNION AS A MILITARY THREAT TO SPAIN (TEXT OF SOLANA'S INTERVIEW IN MADRID'S "DIARIO 16" BEING POUCHED). SOLANA ADDED WITH VISIBLE SATISFACTION THAT 2 "TASS" REPORTERS HAD CALLED HIM ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE INTERVIEW HIT THE STREET, ASKING FOR A CLARIFICATION.

4. SOLANA REPEATEDLY STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE THE PSOE ATTACHED TO THEIR IMPENDING TRIP AND THE NECESSITY THAT THE PSOE AND USG UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER'S POINT OF VIEW. BECAUSE HE HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD US HE INTENDED TO RAISE IN WASHINGTON THE QUESTION OF "WHAT SPANISH ROLE IN WESTERN DEFENSE SHORT OF NATO MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE US," I POINTED OUT TO HIM THAT WE WERE UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES PREPARED TO ADDRESS A QUESTION OF THAT NATURE. WE BELIEVED QUITE FRANKLY THAT SPAIN'S PLACE WAS IN NATO, FOR THE GOOD OF BOTH SPAIN AND THE ALLIANCE. WE WERE EXERTING NO PRESSURE ON SPAIN TO ENTER THE ALLIANCE, BUT HE COULD NOT EXPECT THAT HIS INTERLOCUTORS IN WASHINGTON WOULD DISCUSS RELATIONSHIPS

SHORT OF ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP THAT THE US MIGHT BE
WILLING TO ACCEPT.

5. AT THE CLOSE OF OUR GENERAL DISCUSSION OF DEFENSE
THEMES, I MENTIONED TO SOLANA AND MUGICA THE PSOE'S
MUCH-USED ARGUMENT THAT SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO WOULD
DESTABILIZE THE EUROPEAN SECURITY SITUATION BY CAUSING
THE SOVIETS TO PRESSURE YUGOSLAVIA TO ENTER THE WARSAW
PACT. I EMPHASIZED TO THEM THAT I CONSIDERED SUCH
REASONING TO BE OFF THE MARK, USING THE GUIDANCE AND
SUGGESTIONS CONTAINED IN STATE 77-295322, BELGRADE 77-8882,

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 02598 02 OF 02 091937Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-12
IO-13 NEA-10 AF-10 /106 W
-----038405 092030Z /23

P 091916Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3770
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
USMISSION USNATO
SECDEF WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MADRID 02598

AND USNATO 77-12701. BOTH SOLANA AND MUGICA QUICKLY
RESPONDED THAT THE YUGOSLAVIA ARGUMENT, WHATEVER ITS
MERITS, WAS LARGELY IRRELEVANT TO THE SPANISH DECISION ON
NATO. SOLANA ADDED THAT HE THOUGHT IT UNFORTUNATE THAT
FELIPE GONZALEZ HAD REPEATED THE ARGUMENT, WHICH HE SAID
GONZALEZ HAD PICKED UP FROM "GERMAN MILITARY LEADERS," SO
OFTEN, ALTHOUGH HE POINTED OUT THAT GONZALEZ HAD NOT
RAISED IT RECENTLY.

6. TURNING TO THE CANARIES, SOLANA OBVIOUSLY WAS SOME-
WHAT CHASTENED BY MY STRONG REACTION TO HIS ACCUSATIONS
OF US MACHIAVELLIANISM (MUGICA TOLD EMBOFF EARLIER THAT
HE HAD PERSONALLY TOLD SOLANA HIS REMARKS WERE OUT OF
LINE AND TO LEAVE "POLITICAL" STATEMENTS TO THE PARTY'S
ELECTED LEADERS). SOLANA EMPHATICALLY DENIED THAT HE
EVER HAD SAID THAT HE AND MUGICA WERE GOING TO WASHINGTON
TO "CLARIFY THE US POSITION ON THE CANARIES" (AS REPORTED

IN A NUMBER OF MADRID PAPERS). BUT HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD INDEED SAID HE CONSIDERED THE US POSITION ON THE SPANISHNESS OF THE ISLANDS AMBIGUOUS AND THAT IT APPEARED THE USG WAS ATTEMPTING TO USE THE CANARIES AS A LEVER TO PUSH SPAIN INTO NATO. I RESPONDED THAT SUCH ACCUSATIONS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 02598 02 OF 02 091937Z

WERE BASELESS, OUR POSITION ON THE CANARIES BEING ABUNDANTLY CLEAR FROM STATEMENTS MADE BY THE DEPARTMENT AND THE EMBASSY, ALTHOUGH SOLANA SHOULD KNOW THAT THERE NEVER HAD BEEN ANY QUESTION OR AMBIGUITY ON THIS SCORE. MOREOVER, WE HAD NO FACILITIES IN THE CANARIES NOR WERE WE SEEKING ANY. BEFORE MAKING ALLEGATIONS OF THIS SORT, I ADDED, IT ONLY MADE SENSE TO DISCUSS THE MATTER WITH US. SOLANA DID CONSIDERABLE BACKING AND FILLING ON THE CANARIES ISSUE, ALTHOUGH HE INSISTED THAT A FURTHER CLARIFICATION OF OUR POSITION ON THE CANARIES WOULD BE USEFUL AND INDICATED THAT HE WOULD RAISE THE ISSUE DURING HIS CONVERSATIONS IN WASHINGTON.

7. COMMENTS: SOLANA IS MUCH MORE DEEPLY IMMERSED IN THE STUDY OF DEFENSE ISSUES THAN IS MUGICA, ALTHOUGH THE LATTER IS AN INFINITELY MORE IMPORTANT FIGURE WITHIN THE PARTY. SOLANA IS KEENLY INTERESTED IN A WIDE RANGE OF DEFENSE QUESTIONS, BRINGS A SHARP INTELLECT TO BEAR ON THEM, AND HAS DEMONSTRATED IN HIS CONTINUING CONVERSATIONS WITH US GROWING UNDERSTANDING OF SPANISH DEFENSE THEMES RANGING FROM STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS TO LOGISTICS MATTERS. HE WILL DO MOST OF THE TALKING FOR THE TWO (ESPECIALLY SINCE HE HAS ENGLISH AND MUGICA DOES NOT) IN THOSE CONVERSATIONS DEVOTED TO STRICTLY DEFENSE QUESTIONS. ALTHOUGH SOLANA TENDS TO BE COMBATIVE, AND OFTEN TO TALK WHEN HE SHOULD LISTEN, HIS APPROACH IS BASICALLY A PRAGMATIC ONE AND HIS VIEWS HAVE MATURED CONSIDERABLY IN THE PAST 18 MONTHS. EVEN SO, HIS IDEAS UNDERSTANDABLY CONTINUE TO BE RATHER SUPERFICIAL AND THEY ARE COLORED BY AN UNDERLYING SKEPTICISM ABOUT OUR MOTIVES AND DESIGNS. SOLANA'S EXPOSURE TO USG OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON THEN IS AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO INJECT MORE SOPHISTICATION INTO HIS VIEWS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 02598 02 OF 02 091937Z

EDUCATING HIM AS TO THE PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES OF OUR DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICIES. IN THE CASE OF MUGICA, WE WOULD HOPE FURTHER TO REINFORCE HIS ALREADY STRONGLY-HELD PRO-WEST VIEWS. FAILURE TO DO SO WOULD REPRESENT A

MAJOR MISSED OPPORTUNITY AND I WOULD URGE THAT EVERYTHING
POSSIBLE BE DONE TO MAKE THIS VISIT A SUCCESS. STABLER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: VISITS, OPPOSITION PARTIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MADRID02598
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: DG ALTERED
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780106-0901
Format: TEL
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780388/aaaacwmh.tel
Line Count: 226
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 8e764cca-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 MADRID 2037
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3388719
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: VISIT OF SPANISH OPPOSITION SOCIALIST LEADERS TO WASHINGTON ON DEFENSE QUESTIONS
TAGS: PEPR, OEXC, US, SP
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8e764cca-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014